

A
DISCOURSE
OF THE
Sovereign Power,
IN A
SERMON

PREACHED AT

St. Mary Le Bow, Nov. 28. 1682.

Before the

Artillery Company

OF

LONDON.

And now Published at their Desire.

By GEORGE HICKES, D.D. Chaplain in Ordinary to
His MAJESTY.

LONDON:

Printed for John Baker, Printer to the Honourable Society, at the
Three Pigeons in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1682.

DISCOURSE

OF THE

SERMON

PREACHED

AT

LONDON

To the Right Honourable
Sir *William Pritchard*, Lord Mayor of
the City of L O N D O N,
And President of the Artillery C O M P A N Y.

To the Honourable,
Sir *James Smith*, Knight and Alderman,
Vice-President.

To the Right Worshipful,
Sir *Matthew Andrews*, Treasurer.

As also to the Right Honourable,
Duke of *Albermarle*, | Earl of *Arundel*,
Earl of *Oxford*, | Lord *Falkland*,

To the Honourable, and Right Worshipful,
Henry Guy, Esq; | *Sir William Dodson*, Kt.
William Legg, Esq; | *Charles Duncomb*, Esq;

S T E W A R D S.

And to the whole Court of Assistants, Field-Officers,
Captains, and Gentlemen, Professing and Exercising Arms
in that Renowned and Honourable Society.

Right Honourable,

IN Obedience to your Desire, I have Published this Discourse, which I Preached before you on your late Anniversary Solemnity; and if it may contribute to the further Satisfaction of any who are already Loyal, or the Conviction, and Reformation of such as are not truly so, I shall be thankful to God for Blessing so mean a Performance with such happy success. The Subject, I am sure, is suitable to the

THE EPIQUE DEDICATORY.

Occasion upon which it was Preach'd, and very necessary for the Times; but yet I fore-see it will displease some Men, whose Displeasure indeed I do not value, because their Favour is not to be obtained by any Minister of the Church of England, who will not be false to his own Profession, and utterly decline the Preaching upon these Doctrines, and Duties, which I have here plainly Taught. But you have not so Learned Christ, as appears by the Entertainment, which this unpolished Sermon hath found among you, meerly for the Truths sake. Your Approbation will be Protection sufficient both to it and the Author, who Presents it unto you with all due Observance, wishing a daily increase of such Obedient and Dutiful Subjects to His Majesty, as you are, to whose firm and active Loyalty, next unto God's and our Governours Vigilant Care and Providence, we owe our present Order, and Peace. I am,

Right Honourable,

Your most Obedient Servant,

George Hickes.

A

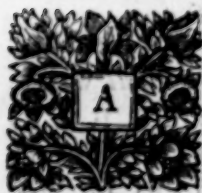
S E R M O N

Preached before
The Artillery Company.

Rom. 13. 4.

*He beareth not the Sword in Vain : for he
is the Minister of God.*

The context before, and after is this : *Wilt thou then not be afraid of the Power : do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same. For he is the Minister of God, to thee for good : But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the Sword in Vain, for he is the Minister of God, a Revenger to Execute wrath upon him, that doth evil.*



Ltho there now are, and have been for above Two thousand years, many Forms of Civil Government in the World, yet all Historians Sacred, or Civil, that write of the times near unto the Flood, assure us, that Monarchies were every where created

B

in

in those Ages, and that Kings were then the Sovereigns of the Earth. Popular Governments, whether by the whole body of the People, as in *Democracies*; or in a Select number of the Chief, as in *Aristocracies*, were then in the Wombs of their special causes, being afterwards introduced either by the compact and agreement of Men, free to choose their own Government, as in new Colonies, and Dispersions; or else by Rebellion, as in the famous Commonwealth of *Rome*, which at first was Governed by † Kings after the most Primitive Form, and then after the Rebellion of *Brutus*, *Valerius* and *Collatinus* by the * four great Letters, *the Senat, and People of Rome*, and at last again by Kings; upon whom first under the name of * *Prince*, and then under the Titles of *Emperor*, and *Augustus*, *the Senat, and People*, not able to secure the publick Peace without a Sovereign Head, conferred all their Power; and as the Greek, and Latin Historians, observe, really made them *Kings*, altho, to prevent offence on both sides, they must not *forth* be so called.

It was under *Claudius* the 5th. or *Nero* the Sixth of these Emperours, that *St. Paul* wrote this Epistle unto the *Romans*, in which it is to be observed, that he asserts the *Roman* Emperor to be the Minister of God, altho he was chosen by the Army, or the People, or sometimes by both, for even in Elective Monarchies,

where

† *Urbem Romanam à principio reges habuere*, Tacit.

* *S. P. Q. R.*

* *Nomine principis sub imperium accipis*, Tacit.

where the People choose the *Sovereign*, he hath not his Authority from his Electors, but from God, as in Oeconomical Government, the Prince of the Family, if I may so speak, hath not his Authority as an Husband, from the Wife, who chose him for her Husband, nor the Authority of a Master, from the Servant who chose him for his Master, But his Conjugal, and Despotical Authority are both from God, who hath made the Husband the head of his Wife, as *Christ is the head of the Church*, and the Master Lord, and Commander over his Servants, whom they are to count worthy of all Honour, and be Obedient unto them, as unto *Christ*.

The choice indeed of the Husband, and Master is from the Wife, and Servant, but the Power of them both is from God, they were free, as to their choice, but after it they are not free, as to their subjection, nor can they disobey them without disobeying God. Just so is it in Elective Monarchies, the People or their Deputies may choose the Man whom they will have for their *Prince*, but they do not give him his Authority; that he hath from God upon their Election, which made *Valentinian* when the Army, that chose him Emperor, cry'd out, that he should take a partner in the Government, answer them upon this principle thus: *† It was in your Power Souldiers, to choose me for your Emperor, but now you have chosen me, that which you demand is not in your Power, but mine: you ought to be*

† Saxam. L. 6. c. 6.

A Discourse about

quiet, as Subjects, and I as an Emperor to consider, what is fit to be done. And accordingly the Apostle here in my text asserts *Claudius*, or as it is more likely, *Nero* the Emperor, who was chosen by the Army, and Senat, not to be *their* Minister, or to have any Ministerial, or Fiduciary Power under them, but to be the Minister of God over them, and as such to have the Power of the Sword. *He beareth not the Sword in Vain, for he is the Minister of God.*

According to which explication of the words, I shall undertake to prove two propositions. First, *That Sovereign Princes are Gods Ministers, and Vice-Gerents, and Reign by his special ordinance and appointment.* and Secondly, *That as such they have and exercise the Supream Power, and particularly the Power of the Sword.* And these two Propositions being proved, I shall make some practical inferences from this Loyal-Doctrin, proper to *this Audience* and the exigence of the Times, in which we live.

I. First then; that Sovereign Princes are Gods Ministers, and Vice-Gerents, and Reign by his special ordinance, is plain from many express texts of the Old and New Testament, which are the Loyallest, as well as the Divineest Books in the World. I will begin with the Old Testament, whose Authority, were it not of divine inspiration, ought upon the account of its antiquity, to preponderate with us above any other Volume in the World. There

There, as [†] *Irenæus* observes, God saith in the [†] 1. p. c. 24.
 8th. Ch. of the Book of Proverbs, *By me Kings
 Reign, and Princes decree justice, by me Princes
 rule, and Nobles, even all the Judges of the Earth.*
 Hence *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon* is cal-
 led Gods Servant, or Minister, *Jerem. 27. 5, 6.*
*I have made the Earth, and given it unto whom it
 seemed meet unto me, and now I have given all these
 Lands into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar the King
 of Babylon my Servant, and all Nations shall serve
 him, and his Son, and his Sons Son, untill the
 very time of his Land come, and then many Nati-
 ons, and great Kings shall serve themselves of him.*
 Accordingly when *Daniel* spoke unto him, he said,
*Tbou O King art a King of Kings, for the God of
 Heaven, hath given thee a Kingdom, Power, and
 Strength, and Glory. Chap. 2. 37.* and after-
 wards speaking of him unto *Belsazzar* his Son,
 he said. *O thou King! the most high God gave Ne-
 buchadnezzar thy Father a Kingdom, and Majesty,
 and Glory, and Honor, and for the Majesty,
 that he gave him, all People trembled, and feared
 before him; whom he would he slew, and whom he
 would he kept alive, and whom he would he set
 up, and whom he would he pulled down.*

According to this Doctrine also God calleth
Cyrus his Shepherd, and Anointed; the very
 Titles, which he gave the Kings of *Israel*, whom
 he set over his own People. Thus saith the
 Lord, *I am the Lord that maketh all things, that*
 Stretch-

Stretcheth forth the Heavens alone, that saith of Cyrus he is my Shepberd; and, Thus saith the Lord to Cyrus his Anointed, I have even called thee by thy name, I have surnamed thee, tho thou hast not known me. I have chosen to instance in these two Pagan Kings, rather than in the Kings of Israel, because you may see, that there is no difference among Sovereign Princes, as to the Divinity of their Title, but that the Sacred Order of Kings in general, is the Ordinance of God. And therefore God to Lecture this Doctrine more Emphatically unto us, hath together with the Sovereign Authority communicated unto them his own name. *Thou shalt not revile the Gods (saith God) nor curse the ruler of thy People, and saith the Psalmist, Ps. 82. God standeth in the Congregation of the Mighty, he judgeth among the Gods; and I have said ye are Gods, and all of you are Children of the most high.* In allusion to which (saith our Saviour) in his own defence, *Is it not written in your Law, I said ye are Gods: and if he called them Gods about whom the word of God was spoken, say ye of him, whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the World, thou blasphemest, because thou sayest I am the Son of God.* That is as much as to say, if Kings, who are Anointed and sent by God are called Gods, and the Sons of God, then how can it be blasphemy in me, who am the Messias himself sent from God, to say I am his Son.

Yes,

Yes, Kings are petty Gods, who Govern men upon Earth as *Michael* and *Gabriel* Govern their Angels in Heaven, by immediate delegation from God. Their Sovereignty is an Image of his Sovereignty, their Majesty the Figure of his Majesty, and their Empire a similitude of his Empire, they are Supream on Earth, as he is in Heaven, they derive not their Authority from their Subjects (for that would be a contradiction) as he derives not his from his creatures, but from him alone they derive it, they are his Lieutenants, and Trustees, the honor or dishonor we do them terminates in him, who gives them their Scepters, and sets them as the Scripture saith, he set *Solomon* upon his own Throne, and made him King, for the Lord his God. 1 *Chr.* 29. 23. 2 *Chr.* 9. 8.

This is further evident out of the New Testament, from that solemn acknowledgment which our blessed Saviour as a Subject of the Empire, made of the Sovereign Power of *Tiberius*, whom he owned, by paying the Tribute, which was due unto him, for the Minister of God. For, for this cause (saith the Apostle) pay you Tribute also, because they are Gods Ministers, attending continually upon this very thing. To which I shall only add the verses before, and after my text: Let every soul be subject to the higher powers for there is no power but of God, the powers that be
are

are ordained of God, whosoever therefore resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.— Wilt thou then not be afraid of the Power, do that which is good and thou shalt have praise of the same, for he is the Minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that, which is evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the Sword in Vain; for he is the Minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him, that doth evil. Wherefore, you ought to be subject not only for wrath, but also for Conscience sake.

Here you see how Emphatically the Apostle styleth the Power, the Ordinance, and the Potentate, or Ruler, the Minister of God. And according to this Apostolical lesson the Primitive Christians did acknowledge the Authority of their persecuting Emperors to be derived from God.

† Theophilus Bishop of Antioch saith, I will honor the Emperor, but not adore him, I adore the true God, knowing, that by him the Emperor is ordained. And to the same purpose again, He is not himself God, but a man appointed by God, and after a sort entrusted by God, with the Oeconomy of the Empire. So * Athenagoras Addressing his speech to Marcus Antoninus, and his Son Commodus: to you (saith he) the power of all things is committed, you have received the Empire from above. So * Origen tells Celsus, that it was not the Heathen

† *Ad Antol.*
L. 1.

* *Legat. pro*
Christ.

* L. 2.

Heathen God Saturn, but God who Governeth all things, that setteth up Kings, and giveth them Power to Reign, and * In Eusebius, Dionysius of Alexandria saith in the name of the Christians, we worship, and adore the one God, who hath committed the Kingdom to our Saered Emperors Valerianus, and Gallinus. And * Pienens Bishop, and Martyr, after a particular proof of this Doctrine by many texts of Scripture, and this of mine among the rest, concludes with these words: By whose Command Kings are born Men, by his Command likewise are Men ordained Kings. And so Tertullian after him: Thence is the Emperor from whence he was a man, before he was Emperor, thence he hath his Authority, from whence he hath his breath. And again: We must of necessity reverence the Emperor, as one, that our Lord hath chosen, so that we may reasonably say, that Cæsar is rather ours, than yours, as being ordained by our God. Apol. c. 30. 33. and in another place, a Christian is an Enemy to no man, much less to the Emperor, whom he knows to be appointed by God, ad Scapul.

This was current Divinity among the Christians under the Pagan and Persecuting Emperors, and what it was after they turned Christians, may be seen in the Apology of St. Athanasius unto Constantius, especially from these words: O Almighty Lord, eternal King, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou by thy word hast given the

Empire to thy servant Constantius. It would be endless to cite more Authorities to confirm this Doctrine out of the Fathers, I will rather shew how it hath been taught by our own Acts, and Authors, of our own Sovereigns, the Kings of the *Englisb* * Empire, to whom God hath given this † Imperial Crown, the Statute of *Præmunire* lb. K. 2. c. 5. declares, that *the Crown of England is so free that it is in no Earthly Subjection, but immediately subject to God in all things touching the regality of the same.* And the Parliament in the 25 *H. 8.* 21. made this recognition unto his Majesty, that *his Graces Realm had no Superiour under God, but only his Grace.* and (24 *H. 8.* c. 12.) *and that next unto God they ought him a Natural, and Humble Obedience:* And long before this our Ancient, and learned Lawyer *Bracton* did declare, that *the* * King is the Vicar, and Minister of God, and Christ, that he † bath neither equal, nor Superiour, and that * every Soul is under him, but he is under none except only God.

As for Ecclesiastical Authorities it would take up too much time to recite them all. The * Church is to admit none into holy orders, but such as will first subscribe, that *the Kings Majesty next under God, is the only Supream Governor of all his Realms and Dominions,* and in the Book of † *Homilies* besides the assertion of this Doctrine about

* Sir Orland.
Bridgman's
speech to the
Regicides p. 12,
13, 14.
† Grammer's
Letters to Qu.
Mary.

* L. 1. de rer.
divis. c. 2.
† L. 2. c. 22.
* L. 1. de rer.
divis. c. 8.

¶ Canon 36.
Art. 1.

† see hom.
about obedi-
ence part 1.
and against
wilful Rebell.
p. 1.

bout Sovereign Princes in general, our late Sovereign King *James* is acknowledged for the *high gift of God*. To conclude this head, from hence it comes to pass, that our Kings, as the learned * *Bochart* observed, are stiled by the *Grace of God*, and that the Royal Motto is *Dieu et mon Droit*; and accordingly this Church which is so Pure, and Primitive in her Loyalty hath taught her Children to Pray: *Almighty God whose Kingdom is everlasting, and Power infinite, have mercy upon the whole Church, and so rule the heart of thy Chosen Servant Charles, our King and Governour, that he knowing, whose Minister he is, may above all things seek thy Honour, and Glory, and that we, and all his Subjects duly considering whose Authority he hath, may faithfully serve, honor, and humbly obey him, in thee, and for thee, according to thy blessed Word, and Ordinance.* Yes, according to the word of the Apostle in my text, who saith, that *he beareth not the Sword in Vain, because he is the Minister of God*

* In Epistola
ad virum
Ampl. D.
Merley.

II. Having now shewed, that Sovereign Princes are Gods Ministers, and Vice-Gerents; and Reign by his special appointment, I proceed to shew in the second place, that under that Character they have and exercise the Supream Power, and particularly the Power of the Sword.

This latter Proposition is a very easy and discernable consequence from the former, and may

be illustrated from the nature of subordinate Magistrates who are the Kings Ministers, appointed under him, as he is appointed under God. As for example: the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* is the Kings Minister, and Vice-Gerent, and by consequence under that character he hath, and exercises the Supream Power in the Government of that Kingdom both Civil, and Military, both that of the Scepter, and that of the Sword, which the King hath committed unto him.

In like manner Sovereign Princes being, as I have shewn, Gods *Lieutenants*, and *Vice-Gerents* within their severall Realms, and Dominions, they Reign under that Sublime character, and as his Representatives have, and exercise all Jurisdiction, and in particular that of the Sword; accordingly, as the Apostle saith, *he beareth not the Sword in Vain, for he is the Minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath, or punishment, upon him, that doth evil.* Were men of the temper of the Angels, who obey their Superiours purely for Conscience-sake, then it would be sufficient for Princes, that they had the commanding without the Punishing Power, but since most men are subject more for Fear, than Conscience, it is highly necessary, that the Sovereign should be furnished with the Coercive, and Vindicative Power, which may be called *the Sword of Justice*, and without which all his Laws, and
Orders

Orders would be vain, precarious and insignificant words, and writings, meer Cobwebs, which the Wasps and Hornets, that swarm in all Governments, would insultingly break through.

And were men also like the good Angels free from evil passions, would they be quiet in the several ranks and stations, in which God hath set them, then Sovereign Princes like Arch-Angels, who are secure from the insurrections of their Subjects, would be safe without the Sword; but since *Pride, Envy, and Discontent*, make men envy their Superiours, and strive to snatch the Crowns from off their Princes heads, since there are *Lucifers* in all Kingdoms, and the Dragon, and his Angels will in all worldly Governments, be still fighting with *Michael*, and his; it is absolutely necessary, that the *Sovereign* be furnished with the Supream Command, Government, and Disposition of the Militia, or Military Forces, which may be called the *Sword of War*. Furthermore it is necessary for the Sovereign to bear the Sword of War, not only to defend himself from his own Rebellious Subjects, but to defend both himself, & his people from the invasions of other Sovereigns; for it is not upon Earth, as it is in Heaven, where one Principality can live without danger, or jealousy of anothe but in all Earthly Kingdoms there must be military Societies, & Preparations ready to oppose foreign violence, actual
and

and Potential Forces, some every where, as the Historian speaks, *in equis & Armis ad subita belli excubantes*, and if this Power of levying War, and providing Arms, and Forces, did belong to any other person, than him whom God hath appointed for Sovereign, that person would be Sovereign, and not he.

From whence it is plain, that the Prince hath the Sword in both senses, from the same hand, from which he hath his Robes, his Crown, and his Scepter. He is a Sovereign as Gods Vice-Gerent and Representative, and as Gods Vice-Gerent and Representative he is a Sovereign, and under both, or either character he holds the Sword, by the Authority of his Heavenly Master; who hath put it in his hand for his Peoples defence, and also to be an avenger, to execute wrath upon every soul that is disobedient to the Laws, which are made to defend his rights, against the invasions of his Subjects, or the rights of his Subjects, against the violence, and invasions of one another. In both these respects he is an Avenger, and God to whom Vengeance, and the Power of life, and death over men Radically, and Originally belongeth, hath committed the Sword of War, and Justice unto him, that he might be *Vindex in terris*, and not only Command, but Punish in his stead.

Hence the Emperor *Justinian*, who according

ing to my first proposition, in the first sentence of his Preface to the Pandects solemnly * acknowledges, that *he received his Empire from God*, doth in the beginning of his Proem to the Institutions assert *Arms to be primarily necessary for a Prince*, in the following words: *Imperatoriam Majestatem non solum Armis decoratam, sed etiam legibus oportet esse armatam.* The Majesty of a King ought to be fortified and adorned not only with Arms, but Laws. With Arms in the first place, without which his Majesty would be contemptible and his Laws of no force; for take away the Teeth, and Talons of the Lyon, and his Roaring, to which Solomon ingeniously compares the wrath of a King, shall be no longer terrible, but every vile Dog will bark, and every silly Ass will bray in his face, and lift up his heels against him.

* Deo Auctore nostrum gubernante imperium, quod nobis à celesti Majestate traditum est, præfat. l. digesti.

Hence saith * Glanvil of the Kings of England almost in the words of Justinian, *Regiam Majestatem non solum armis oportet esse decoratam, sed & legibus*; and to this purpose † *Fleta, habet Rex in manu sua omnia jura*, the King hath all the Laws in his hand, & *materiale gladium, qui pertinet, ad Regni gubernaculum*, and the Sword, which belongeth to the Government of his Kingdom, and saith Bracton in the beginning of his first Book; *In rege, qui recte regit, necessaria sunt duo hæc, arma videlicet, & leges*, there are two things necessary for a King, that Governs well,

* Proleg. trañ. de leg. & consuet. regn. Angl.
† L. 1. c. 27.

Arms

Arms, and Laws. Hence the Laws of this Kingdom, which acknowledg the imperial Crown, and Jurisdiction of this Realm, to be taken immediately from God, according to my first Proposition, do also according to the second, acknowledg *the Kings Power over the Militia, and that force of Armour belongs unto him, by vertue of his Royal Seignory*, as may be seen in the 7 of Edward 1. and in the 13 of our present Sovereign, c. 6. where it is declared, that *the supreme disposition of the Militia, and of all Forces by Sea, and Land, and of all Forts, and places of strength is, and by the Laws of England ever was the right of His Majesty, and his Royal Predecessors*. And if it were not, he would not be a real, but a meer nominal King, in shew a Sovereign, or shadow of a Sovereign, but in reality a Subject, a Spartan King, a distressed Prince indeed, not Gods, but the Peoples unhappy Minister and Servant; which his Majesty, of his great wisdom, knew very well, when he told that House of Commons, which asked the Militia of him for some weeks, that *he would not part with it for an hour*. It was the voice of a King, and a Christian, he spoke as it became Gods Vice-Gerent, and Lieutenant, who knew very well from whom he had his Sword as well as his Scepter, and that he bore it not in vain, but was the Minister of God, a Revenger to execute wrath upon him, or them, that do evil.

Having

Having now shewed first that sovereign Princes are God's ministers and vicegerents ; and secondly, that as such, they have, and exercise the supreme power, and particularly that of the Sword ; I now proceed to make some practical Observations upon this Loyal doctrine proper to this meeting, and the exigence of these times, in which we live.

First then, we may observe what a groundless and blasphemous doctrine it is to assert, as the Popish Writers do, that the *Pope* hath all manner of temporal, as well as spiritual power given him from God, and that he giveth the former to Emperours and Kings to use it under him ; but so, that as his ministers and vicegerents, they depend entirely upon him.

This is the great *Palladium* of the Popish Cause, which hath murdered, and deposed so many sovereign Princes, and disposed of their Crowns and Dominions. This brought *Henry* the IV. Emperour of *Germany*, on a cold frosty day, barefoot and bare headed to Pope *Hildebrand's* palace ; this brought the Emperour *Frederick* the first, to hold Pope *Adrian* the 4th's Stirrop ; and this set the foot of Pope *Alexander* the 3d. upon his Neck, when his Holiness blasphemously misapplied the words of the *Psalmist* : *Thou shalt tread upon the Lion and Adler, the young Lion and Dragon, thou shalt trample under foot.*

It was upon this account of the Pope's pretended universal Sovereignty that King *John* surrendered this Kingdom to Pope *Innocent* the 3d. that *Henry* the 2d. submitted to the lashes of the Monks of *Canterbury*, and that *Henry* the 4th. of *France*, was whipped in the Person of his Ambassadour Cardinal *D'offat*, by the Pope and Cardinals at *Rome*.

To be short, this doctrine makes all Princes the Pope's Vassals, and it ought not to be endured by any Loyal Christian Subject, as being so unreasonable in it self, so destructive to the rights and dignity of sovereign Princes, and so contrary to the word of God. Our Ancestours themselves were never able to bear it, as * appears from the resolve of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, in the 40 year of *Edward* the 3d. who when the Pope by his Ambassadour demanded Homage of the King for his two Kingdoms, answered, that *King John* (upon whose surrender the Pope grounded his claim) *could not put his Realm in any such subjection without his peoples consent, that it was against his Coronation Oath, and that for themselves they could not assent to any thing in Parliament, that tended to the disinherison of the King and his Crown, and that if the Pope attempted any thing of that nature, they would resist him with all their force.*

And in the Statute of *Præmunire*, wherein as I have shew'd, the three Estates of this Realm
acknow-

* *Cokes institut. part 4.*
p. 13, 14.

acknowledged the King to be immediately subject to God, they also promised and bound themselves to defend the King's Crown and Regality against the Papal Jurisdiction, and to live and dye with the same.

And in the 35 *Hen. VIII.* 11. the first oath of Supremacy, which acknowledges the King supreme Head upon earth under God, was also formed against the Papal Jurisdiction; which made Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, in Queen *Mary's* days, refuse to answer the Bishop of *Glocester*, who sat in judgment upon him by commission from *Rome*; for which refusal he apologized in a Letter to the Queen, urging his Oath of Allegiance to the contrary, and telling her Majesty, *that it could not but grieve the heart of any natural Subject to be accused, as he was, of his own Sovereign within her own Realm, before an outward Judge.*

But in the *second* place, we may observe what an absurd doctrine it is, and how disagreeable to Christian divinity, to assert that the sovereign Power is radically and originally seated in the People, and derived from them upon the Prince. I deny not, but that God by his providence may invest the sovereign Power in the body of the people, as formerly in *Athens*, and now in the Cantons of *Switzerland*, and that, as formerly in *Sparta*, they may commit the exercise of it unto a single person under the character of King; but

then such Kings are onely equivocal Kings, Kings in name, but in reality Subjects, and have the People for their sovereign Lord, who in these unhappy governments, as *Themistocles* calls them in his Epistles, are indeed the Ministers of God, and ought to be obey'd, not onely for wrath, but also for Conscience-sake.

But the opinion that I am speaking against is this; that the People are the fountain and foundation of all power and dominion, which is understood to be derived from them even upon those whom Custom calls sovereign Princes, who are but their *trustees*, or *fiduciary ministers*; with whom they have at least a *virtual* contract, and if they do not perform their trust by not using their power to the ends for which they received it, or abuse it to contrary ends, then they forfeit the power and authority with which they were entrusted by them, and ought to be answerable for their defaults.

I am confident this doctrine cannot be strange to any man, that hath cast his eyes never so little upon the seditious Pamphlets of these, or the late times. It is expressed, or implied, taught, or insinuated in most of them, which infect the unwary, the unthinking Vulgar with this Popish principle of Rebellion, before they are aware. I call it a Popish principle, because the Papists, of all Christians, first taught it, to arm the subjects at their pleasure against their
Sovereign

Sovereign, and by that means to revenge themselves upon the Princes that would not submit unto the *Pope*. And indeed there never was any doctrine better fitted and invented to destroy Monarchies, than this is: for as the unchristian opinion, that Episcopacy is an usurpation over the Church, makes many people sit so uneasy and discontented under the Episcopal Jurisdiction, and hate Bishops: So this unchristian doctrine, which makes sovereign and independent Princes Usurpers over the peoples liberties, must also make all people that believe it, uneasy and discontented under Monarchical government, and secretly disaffected to the Princes, in whose Realms they live.

This we find by experience in this Kingdom, where this most unscriptural and absurd doctrine is taught; unscriptural I call it, because it is so contrary to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, which assert such wicked Princes as *Tiberius*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Claudius* and *Nero*, to be the ministers of God, and commands allegiance both in subjection and non-resistance unto them upon that account.

And as it is most contrary to the Scriptures, and the whole strain of primitive Christian Writers; so is it in it self chargeable with many absurdities and difficulties, which the maintainers thereof cannot answer: For first, if the sovereign Power be radically and fundamentally seated in the people, then there is but one sort

of sovereign government in the World, *viz.* Democracy, and by consequence all other Sovereigns, whether Senates or Princes, are Usurpers, and ought to be reduced, or deposed. Secondly, They cannot tell us upon this hypothesis, whether the supreme Power belongs to all the people promiscuously, that have the use of reason, without any regard to Sex or condition, or onely to qualified persons, to Men onely, and men of such a condition and sort. If men onely have a share and interest in the supreme Power, by whose order and authority, or by what Salique law of Nature were Women excluded from it, who are as usefull members of the Commonwealth, and as necessary for humane societies as the men are? Who gave the men authority to deprive them of their birthright, and set them aside as unfit to meddle with Government; when Histories teach us that they have wielded Sceptres, as well as Men, and Experience shews, that there is no natural difference between their understandings and ours, nor any defects in their knowledge of things, but what Education makes?

But admitting that the sovereign Power is onely in the Men, then they are as hard puzzled to tell us, whether it be in all the men that have the use of reason promiscuously, or onely in qualified persons of such an age, estate, or condition. If all, then young and old, masters
and

and servants, fathers and children, poor and rich must have an equal share and suffrage in the Government, which would make an intolerable confusion; but if they say some, and once set limitations, then they can never tell by what order, or authority those without the limits, which must be the more numerous part of the people, are shut out from the Government and from the concerns of the Commonwealth, of which they are the greatest part.

But lastly, let us suppose, as most of these Commonwealths-men do, that the Wife is included with her Husband, the Child with the Parent, and the Servant with the Master, yet what provision is hereby made for all emancipated persons, such I mean, as have neither husbands, parents, nor masters, must they come in for a share of the Government, or not? or must onely masters of Families have the whole management, and if they must, must the poor and rich, those that have estates, and those that have none, have an equal share and interest in it, or if they must not, whence arises the inequality, or who is it that hath authority to give some more power, and some less?

Or if you will suppose a great Number of people not yet under any contract or regular association, who can have power to convene them together, to appoint times or places for meet-

meeting to preside in their assemblies, to determine arising doubts, to draw up articles of agreement, form the scheme of the future Government, compute voices, and the like? and then in their assemblies, will the supreme Power rest in the Major, or in the wiser, or better part? and shall their acts conclude those that could not, or would not come? When you have well considered all these difficult and perplexed points; which attend this hypothesis of placing all power in the People, you will easily perceive the excellency of the Scriptural hypothesis above it. It is free from all the forementioned difficulties and absurdities; it is more agreeable to the original of Mankind from one single created Father; it leaves not so many pretences for Sedition and Rebellion; it lays the highest obligations that can be upon the conscience of the Sovereign to rule well: In a word, it is not onely the most religious, but the most rational, easie, and compleat account of Government, to say, that sovereign States and Princes, are God's ministers and not the peoples, that they derive their power from heaven, and not from men; and particularly, that they have the power of the Sword not by donation from the people, but by the ordinance of God.

But in the *third* place, From this Apostolical doctrine about the power and authority of sovereign Princes, and States, you may perceive
of

what a great sin it is for the subjects of any government upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms without authority from the lawfull Sovereign, be it in riots, tumults, or rebellions, or any other illegal meetings howsoever called; for God hath committed the power of the Sword to the lawfull Sovereign onely, and whosoever takes it, and useth it without his authority, much more against it, usurpeth the chief part of the supreme authority, and is left by our blessed Saviour to be punished for his usurpation by the Sovereign's Sword: *Put up thy Sword again* (saith he unto Saint Peter, who drew it to defend his Master against the officers of the persecuting Sanhedrim,) *for all, that take the sword, shall perish by the sword; and to this purpose, and almost in the same words, saith St. John, by way of precaution to the suffering Christians: He that killeth with the sword must be killed with the sword, here is the faith and patience of the Saints.* And accordingly the Apostle tells the Christian subjects of that monster Nero, that the Powers that then were, were ordained of God, and that they, who resisted the Power, resisted the ordinance of God, and should receive damnation, or condemnation to themselves.

To bear the Sword, or have the supreme disposition of the Sword, is one of the *jura majestatis*, or essential rights of Sovereignty, which be-

longs to the Sovereign by the *Imperial laws* of all governments, and by the same *Imperial laws* is it made capital to take it up against the Sovereign; and our Saviour, *who came to destroy no man's civil rights, but to confirm them*, was in the first place tender of the Sovereign's rights, and of the Laws, by which they are established, and confirmed them both: *Render unto Cæsar* (saith he) *the things that are Cæsar's*, and one part of *Cæsar's* prerogative, as a sovereign Prince, and indeed the foundation of all the rest, was to be accountable to no earthly power, nor liable to any coercion, or force: for were there any other power to which he was accountable, or which had a right to resist him by violence or force of armour, that power would be *Cæsar*, or Sovereign, and not he.

Wherefore had our Saviour given a power to Christian subjects upon the account of Religion, or any other account whatsoever, to take up Arms against their Sovereign, he had set up one Sovereign, and one Sword against another, in every Government; and so had not come as he said, *to save mens lives, but to destroy them*, and as he spoke in another sense, *not to send Peace upon the earth, but a Sword*.

But instead of that, as I said before, he hath confirmed the rights of Sovereignty, and the *Imperial laws* of every sovereign government, which make it capital to resist the Sovereign;
and

and it is by these Laws, which I may call the first Table of every government, and by the Gospel, which confirms them, that *passive obedience*, or *non-resistance* becomes the double duty of Christian subjects, who cannot take up the Sword against their Sovereign without resisting God, whose Minister he is, and making themselves justly liable to the stroke of that Sword, which God hath put in his hand.

For God, to whom vengeance, or punishment, belongeth, hath made him a revenger to execute wrath upon his subjects that doe evil, but he hath not made *them* revengers to execute wrath upon *him*. Had he done so, he had set up two instead of one Sovereign in every Government; but on the contrary, as his wisdom and honour obliged him, he hath reserved wicked Princes, and Tyrants for his own punishment, and hath allowed their subjects no Arms against them, but the Arms of the Catholique and Apostolical Church, even the Primitive *Artillery of prayers and tears*.

Perhaps this may seem a very harsh doctrine to some inconsiderate people at first hearing, but if they well consider that the resistance of the Subjects brings greater evils upon the publick, than the tyranny of the most wicked Sovereign, they will find, that the doctrine of *passive obedience* is founded in the highest reason, and that we are bound to praise the wisdom and good-

ness of God, who hath forbidden us a remedy, which is infinitely worse than the disease. I need not send you far off to prove what I say, for in this little Island since the beginning of the Reformation, there hath been perhaps as much Christian blood shed in *pretended defensive* Wars, by the Anti-Episcopal Reformers, as in the first ten famous Persecutions throughout the *Roman* Empire; and more men slain in the least set battel of the late Rebellion, which was also called a *Defensive* War, than by the tyranny of all the Kings of this Nation since the Crown was set upon the Conquerour's Head.

But in the *fourth* place, To pass over many other usefull observations, as what a strong obligation this doctrine lays upon the consciences of all Christian States, and Princes, and how unjustly the faithfull Ministers of this Church are hated and aspersed for preaching of it up, as if they designed to flatter their Prince into a Tyrant, and enslave the People: I say, to pass over these considerations, which would effectually vindicate the Church and Clergy of *England*, and discover the malice of their factious enemies, we may see how much it is the special duty of all inferiour Magistrates whether Civil or Military, to take care that they employ not their power, which they have from their Sovereign against him, or doe any thing that may make his just Government uneasy upon his shoulders; much less

less that may tend to the disinherison of his Crown, the destruction of his Regality, or the diminution of his legal authority, and power.

I make this observation, because it hath been, and I am afraid still is, a principle among our new Reformers, that the inferiour Magistrates have their power immediately from God, though they are chosen unto it by the Prince, and are God's Trustees to see that he doeth his duty, and that if he will not, they may compell him, and reform without him, and raise forces to resist his unjust force. But as this opinion is utterly against Scripture, the Histories of all times, and the practice of all civil governments, wherein all *inferiour* Magistrates have their commissions from the *Supreme*: So is it utterly against reason, for then instead of one, we should have many Sovereigns in every Government, Power against Power, and Sword against Sword; and if there be any man here so absurd, that is not convinced of the danger and absurdity of it at first hearing, I desire him to admit this hypothesis but for one year into his own family: Let him suppose, that his Steward, or chief servant hath his Steward's authority immediately from God, and is God's Trustee to see that he doth his duty, and that when he will not, he may force him, and reform his family without his consent; but if he abhor this as an absurd and impious proposal, and as utterly inconsistent with the just exercise

exercise of the paternal authority in Families, it is every whit as bad in soveraign States and Kingdoms, and in a short time would make the Supreme, the subordinate Magistrate's Slave.

I have also made this observation, because many inferiour Powers and Magistrates have formerly, and I wish I could not say of late, done very much harm to the Crown, and given very ill example to the common people of this Kingdom by their undutifull and disloyal actions. Were it needfull, I could prove this Charge by a volume of Examples out of the Histories of the late times, to which I refer you; and heartily wish for the honour of God, and the Protestant Religion, that our present Sovereign, and God's Vicegerent, to whose goodness so many ungratefull men owe their honours, and estates, and some incurable Traitors their honours and lives, had not of late been treated by some inferiour Powers, and Potentates more like a publick enemy, than a Prince.

But in the *fifth* place, If God hath put the Sword in the Sovereign's hand, we may all learn how Necessary, and Honourable the profession of a Souldier is, who beareth not the Sword in vain, but to fight the Lord's battels in defence of his Vicegerent, and to be a revenger to execute wrath upon them that doe evil. Every lawfull Souldier whether Common, or Commander is God's Souldier, and what *Jehosaphat* said unto his Judges,
2 Chron.

2 Chron. 19. may with a little alteration, be said by the King to his *Militia*, or Army, *Let the fear of God be upon you, and take heed what you doe, for the judgments which you execute are God's judgments, and you fight not for man but for the Lord.*

I have made this observation because we have at least one Sect among us, who say, that it is unlawfull for a Christian to bear Arms, and serve in the Wars under his lawfull Prince. But this is just such another absurd opinion, as that of the same men, who say it is unlawfull to take an Oath before the lawfull Magistrate, when we are required to swear. I profess, I wonder what can be the ground of such an absurd opinion, and how the *Socinians*, who pretend to be Masters of Reason, can teach such an unreasonable thing. It is a perfect contradiction to the doctrine of the Apostle, who here teacheth us, that the Sovereign beareth the Sword, as he is God's Minister, and that he beareth it not in vain, but to be a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil; and if he bear the Sword by God's appointment, and for so great an end it must needs be lawfull, and laudable to bear it under him, just as because he is the supreme Minister of Justice, some must needs serve under him in the administration and execution of Justice, and those who doe so, are to be honoured in their several places upon the account of that civil authority, which they derive from him. The Sovereign

veraign is the fountain both of Civil and Military authority, both are equally from God, and necessary for the support of Government, and therefore I confess, I cannot understand, why it should be more unlawfull for a Christian to buckle on the Sword at the command of his Prince, than to put on a Gown.

But secondly, I have made this observation to let our seditious people see how little like Christians they demean themselves, in railing, as they have always done, at the *King's Guards*, and of late at the loyal *Militia* of this City, calling them, as they did not many days ago, my Lord Mayor's *Janizaries*, my Lord Mayor's *Army*, and as they think very wittily, my Lord Mayor's *Guards*. These people are themselves an argument to prove, how necessary the Sword is for the quiet and welfare of Government, according to the motto of your Shield, *arma pacis fulcra*, that *arms are the cause of peace*. They shew us what we must expect from them were it not for the Sword; and God be praised, that both the King, and the Lord Mayor have their Guards to defend them, otherwise, I fear, the spirit of *Corah*, which reigns still in these men, would soon push them on to pull his Lordship out of his Chair, and His Majesty out of the Throne.

But in the last place, if God hath put the Sword into the Sovereign's hand, and the *Military*, as well, as the *Civil* Power be derived
from

from him, you may see how Honourable a Science the Science of Arms is, and how Useful, and Profitable to all Governments Schools of Arms are, wherein Men disposed for Martial Employments may learn the Military Discipline, and how to be Expert *in feats of Arms*. Such Honourable Societies are His Majesties Nurseries for the Militia, as the Inns of Court are for the Law, and the two Universities for the Church; and as it is to be wished, and endeavoured, that no Persons be bred in either of the former, who would employ their Tongues, and Pens against Gods Servant and their Sovereign: So is it to be wished, and all possible Endeavours ought to be used by you, who are Members of this Honourable Company, that none be admitted into it, at least into the Government of it, who will likely so misemploy their Swords.

You are the *Chef d'ordre*, the Chief Academy of this kind in His Majesties Dominions; and as you are the most Illustrious for the Number, and Quality of your Members, so may you ever be the most Exemplary for Christian Loyalty; and imitable Patterns for all His Majesties Subjects of that Faith, and Allegiance, which is due unto him by the Law of † Nature, as well as the Municipal Laws of this Land.

† *Coker Calvin's Case.*

May you all (according to the Ancient Oath of Allegiance wont to be Administred in Courts of * Lect) *Be Faithful and Loyal to our Sovereign*

* *Britton. c. 29.*

Lord the King, and his Heirs, and bear them Faith and Fealty of Life, Limb, and terrene Honour, and never do them hurt, or damage, but Defend them to your Power. But if notwithstanding your Care, and Endeavours to the contrary, any disaffected Persons have, or may hereafter creep in among you, let their Right-hands forget their Cunning, and cease to be dextrous in handling the Sword.

Let them never be able to stretch forth Hand or Sword against the Lords Anointed; or if they do, let them prosper according to the presage of our Blessed, and Obedient Saviour, who said, *He that taketh up the Sword (that is without, or against Authority) shall perish by the Sword. Let their Calamity, as Solomon saith, rise suddenly: Let swift Destruction, as David pray'd against his Enemies, come upon them unawares; let them be as the Chaff before the Wind, and the Angel of the Lord scatter them: Let all this come upon them as upon Absalom, Brutus, Cassius, and Chærea; and I hope there is none so disloyal in this Audience, at least in this Honourable Company, that will not heartily say Amen.*

There are other Excellent Uses to be made of this Doctrine, especially against the unchristian Practises of those Men, who not having the fear of the King of Kings before their Eyes, love to speak and do every thing, as far as safely they may against the Honour of his Vice-gerent;
standing

standing his Person and Government, belying or mis-construing his best Proceedings, blaming, or Censuring his most Innocent Actions, delighting in his Misfortunes, Triumphant in his Wants, Aggravating his Infirmities, dispersing Stories and Rumours to his Prejudice, and loving to do every thing that tends to weaken his Authority, and withdraw the Hearts of his People from him, and render him Odious, and Contemptible in their Eyes.

If you ask these Men with what Conscience they can thus treat their Sovereign, they will tell you, they do nothing but what they can Justifie by *Law*; as if the Laws of the Land, and not the Laws of the Gospel were the compleat, and adequate Rule of Christian Duty, Subjection, and Obedience: Or, as if Men were to be Try'd at the last Judgment by those, and not by these.

But alas, the Man of God, as the Apostle calls a Christian, cannot be made Perfect in any one Duty by the Laws, nor furnished by them unto every good Work, but quite contrary, the Laws of the Realm will allow us to do many grievous things against Father, Mother, Wife, Children, or any other sort of Relations, or Neighbours, for which, without Repentance, we shall be surely Damned. Wherefore as the Laws of the Land are not the Measure of our Duty to our Parents, &c. so neither are they the Perfect Rule of our Duty to our Prince, as it is plain from

the Verse after my Text, where the Apostle having told the *Romans*, that the Emperour was the Minister of God, he then adds, *Wherefore you must needs be subject, not only for Wrath, or fear of Legal Punishment, but also for Conscience-sake.*

To Conclude all; these Disloyal Men, with which these Kingdoms so abound, Act more like *Greeks* than Christians, and as if they had been bred at *Athens*, and *Sparta*, rather than in the School of Christ: Otherwise they would be better Affected towards Gods Anointed; they would Pray more for him, and Murmure, and Clamour less against him, as knowing, that God giveth us what Kings soever he pleaseth, and that the Kings Heart is in the Hand of the Lord, and that he turneth it whithersoever he will. He is King of Kings, Lord of Lords, and the only Ruler of Princes. He is the Fountain of Sovereign Power, every King is his Vice-gerent, and every Kingdom a Theocracy, and therefore let us bless the Lord before all the Congregation, and say, in the words of *David*, *1 Chron. 29. Thine, O Lord, is the Greatness, and the Power, and the Glory, and the Victory, and the Majesty: For all that is in the Heaven, and in the Earth is thine; thine is the Kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted, as Head above all.* Which in other words is the very Doctrine of the Apostle, who saith, *That there is no Power, but of God, and that he beareth not the Sword in vain, because he is the Minister of God, To whom, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be ascribed, &c.*

A M E N.

REPRODUCED FROM THE COPY IN THE
HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY

FOR REFERENCE ONLY. NOT FOR REPRODUCTION